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The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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Historic Conference of the Big Three

In compliance with the War Production Board's program of paper conservation, we are obliged to reduce the size of this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER to four pages. Our next issue will appear with the normal eight pages and regular features.

AS we go to press, the most important conference of our age, one of the most important of all time, is in session somewhere in the Black Sea area. The heads of the three great Allied governments—Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin—are making decisions which may influence the course of history for many years to come.

Probably these decisions will have been made and published to the world before this paper reaches its readers. No one knows in advance what the decisions will be. Many of them may not be made public for some time after the conference. But we do know the nature of the problems considered by the Big Three. Here are some of the more important of the problems which, in all probability, have been considered:

Military cooperation. In the official announcement that the conference was in session, it was pointed out that the military heads of the three countries had met and mapped plans for the final stages of the war against Germany. It was announced that agreement has been reached on this vital matter. It is of the utmost importance that the plans of the Russians dovetail with those of the British and Americans so that the fullest possible weight can be thrown against the Germans at the same time.

Even as we go to press, there are indications that the Allies in the west have opened a major offensive to coincide with the magnificent onslaught of the Russians in eastern Germany.

War against Japan. No doubt, the Allied leaders have discussed the question of Russia's entry into the war against Japan. If a decision has been reached on that vital question, it seems probable that Russia will not come into the war in the Pacific until Germany is decisively crushed.

In deciding whether to make war against Japan, Russia will, of course, be guided by her own national interests. She will not help us fight the Japanese merely as a favor to us. No nation acts that way. Certainly the United States does not. Whenever we enter a war, we do so not to accommodate some other country but to protect our own interests and safety. Russia will act from the same motives. Russia has vital stakes in the Far East and will want a voice in the peace settlement of that area. She and Japan have many conflicting interests. It seems highly probable, therefore, that she will join the Pacific war when the time comes.

What to do with Germany. This is one of the most important questions discussed by the Big Three. The Germans to be imposed upon Germany, the question of the occupation of Germany, of the type of government to

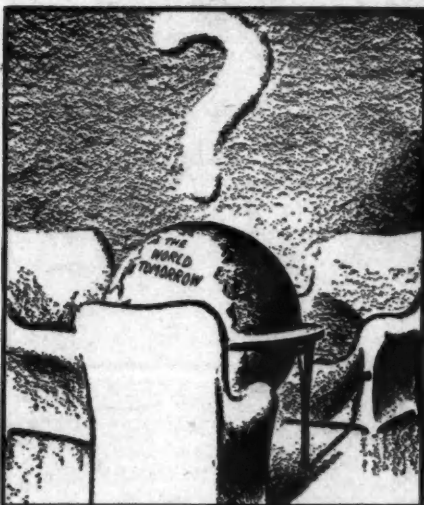
be set up there, of the country's future boundaries—these are all pressing issues. The three great powers have been making plans for the future of Germany, not only immediately after her defeat but also for an indefinite period after peace, and one of the purposes of the conference was to reach agreement on these plans and formulate a common policy.

The Polish question. This was one of the most complicated issues facing the Big Three and many aspects of it

of the liberated countries be friendly to them than that they be democratic. Those two powers have vital interests in the countries of eastern Europe and are looking to their future security. Thus, the task confronting the Big Three was to work out a formula whereby the smaller nations of Europe can remain truly independent which will be acceptable to the Russians and the British.

Freedom of the press. The United States is particularly anxious that

favors the incorporation of the Rhineland into France after the war or whether he would be satisfied with its being controlled by the Allies. It has been reported that he favors a program whereby the region west of the Rhine would be controlled jointly by France, Belgium, and the Netherlands—the three countries of the west whose security depends upon the arrangements which are made. At any rate, he insists that nothing west of the Rhine be left in German hands.



LITTLE IN NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
"Fateful Meeting"



PRATT IN SACRAMENTO DRY
"Little Three Agreement"

have been discussed in previous numbers of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. One of the objectives of Churchill and Roosevelt was to reach a compromise with Stalin on this question, to work out a formula which would be acceptable to the opposing groups. The compromise would have to deal with political issues as well as territorial adjustments.

It seems likely that for territorial concessions to Russia in the east, Poland will be given slices of German territory in the west. The Russian-supported government of Poland, with headquarters in Lublin, insists that the new Poland must have Silesia and part of East Prussia. It is possible that Poland's western boundary will extend to the Oder River which, at its nearest point, is only 30 to 40 miles from Berlin. In such case, the question of moving the Germans who will reside in the new Poland will have to be worked out.

Problems of the liberated countries. This was one of the major problems discussed at the conference. The United States has insisted that the peoples of all the countries be given the opportunity to hold free elections after the war and decide upon their form of government. We do not want political arrangements made now which might impose upon those peoples governments which they themselves have not chosen.

The Russians and British have been more insistent that the governments

freedom of communication be established throughout the world. In the Balkans, a large part of which are now under the military control of the Russian armies, American newspaper correspondents are not permitted to go. Our State Department has protested against this exclusion and is insisting that our reporters be allowed to go anywhere in order that the people may know what is going on.

Relations with France. Charles de Gaulle, head of the government of liberated France, is insistent that France be given a place as an equal partner with the Big Three. He was highly displeased at not being invited to participate in the conference which touched upon matters of such vital importance to the future of France. He feels that France must play a major role in future policy toward Germany and that her voice should be heeded in the decisions made about that country.

In recent statements, de Gaulle has voiced some rather definite ideas about the future of Germany. He insists that the Rhineland and Ruhr be permanently separated from Germany as an essential step in preventing another war. Not only does he feel that France should be given a large share of the responsibility for policing Germany after the war, but he also says that her needs should be taken into account in drawing Germany's future boundaries in the west. It is not clear whether de Gaulle

If France's views prevail and if the eastern boundary of Germany is pushed back to the Oder, postwar Germany will be greatly reduced in size. She will be stripped of many of her resources and of her most highly developed industrial regions.

A permanent peace organization. This was one of the big items on the program of discussions of Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill. One of their purposes was to iron out the differences which remained at the conclusion of the Dumbarton Oaks conference which drew up a preliminary draft for a peace organization. If the Big Three were able to reach agreement on this issue, it is understood that immediate steps will be taken to bring the peace organization into being. Mr. Roosevelt is known to be eager to have the proposals submitted to the United States Senate at the earliest possible moment for approval.

Some of the questions raised in this article will undoubtedly be answered by the time this paper reaches its readers. The answers to others must await developments, for the nature of the decisions will be known only as future events unfold. To a large extent, these decisions will reflect the peace aims and objectives of the great Allied world. They may determine whether the Allies can remain united in purpose after the war as they have been during their struggle against a common enemy.

The Story of the Week

The War Fronts

As we go to press, the Germans are still retreating all along the eastern front. The Oder River, considered as a possible line of defense, has failed to stop the onrushing Red Army and the way to Berlin seems clear. Berlin, grand military objective of the war in Europe, will probably be no more than a mass of blackened ruins peopled by miserable refugees when the Russians enter it. Now the most bombed city on the continent, the German capital has been blasted by more than 25,000 tons of Allied bombs in the last year.

The Red Army, concentrating its main strength on the drive toward Berlin, is also pushing hard farther north. Most of East Prussia is now in Russian hands, and Generals Chernenkovsky and Rokossovsky have the important cities of Königsberg and Danzig almost within their grasp.

Although the Red Army is still the enemy's chief worry, Allied forces are offering new threats in the west. Part of the Siegfried Line has been completely pierced and a strong drive to the Rhine through its center seems imminent. Near Cleve, northern anchor of the famous wall of fortifications, British and Canadian armies have opened a new offensive.

It is too early to determine, as we go to press, whether the intensified activity on the Western Front is the beginning of the big push, synchronized with the Russian offensive in the east, and designed to strike the final decisive blow at Germany. If General Eisenhower can possibly do so, he will undertake that push now, while the full weight of the Russian armies is bearing down upon the Germans in the east.

New Coal Crisis?

This year as in 1943, March 31 may mean the beginning of a bitter three-way struggle in which mine operators, the government, and John L. Lewis fight it out over the terms of the new United Mine Workers wage contract. Although Solid Fuels Coordinator Harold L. Ickes is trying to avert a repetition of the 1943 coal crisis by persuading miners and operators to adjust their differences before the present contract runs out, UMW president Lewis has thus far refused to take part in advance negotiations.

Lewis has prepared a list of new demands which reputedly includes a minimum hourly wage of \$1.25 to replace the present \$1 hourly minimum and full portal-to-portal pay instead of half pay for the time spent going from mine entrance to actual place of work. Anticipating strikes and delays over these demands, the government is restricting coal usage and trying to build up fuel stockpiles before the miners' contract runs out.

In the 1943 coal crisis, Lewis and the mine workers had little popular support. From one end of the country to the other, in labor as well as business circles, their strike was denounced as unpatriotic. This time, however, the UMW can point to a number of things in its favor. Its production record is excellent. Although the total working force in the mines has been cut 12 per cent and the average age of those remaining

is 45 instead of 32, total output has gone up 20 per cent since the war began. This means that American coal miners average five times the production of their counterparts in Britain. As a contribution to the war effort, some 65,000 miners recently worked a full day Sunday at weekday pay rates.

Lewis' case for higher wages is also strengthened by the fact that the OPA has just reclassified 33 company-owned grocery stores in mining towns so that they are now in the highest price bracket. This means that living expenses for many miners will rise sharply. Another significant factor in the coming struggle is Lewis'

resistance groups led to raids in which suspected collaborationists were rounded up and imprisoned. In Belgium, it produced strikes among dockhands and coal miners which seriously tied up the economic life of the nation, even threatening the flow of supplies to Allied armies operating in the country.

Belgium's difficulties have been complicated by the fact that she is supplying our military forces with more than \$30,000,000 worth of goods and services a month and receiving almost nothing in return. This drain on the country's resources, necessary because our troops have remained in Belgium longer than had been planned, has pro-

for the use of Japanese troops. And as they were driven out, the Japanese systematically looted and destroyed wherever possible. Bombs and fire wrecked many of the fine homes and public buildings.

Besides a long-term program of reconstruction, Manila will require immediate relief. Her population, swelled since Pearl Harbor by thousands of refugees, is in desperate need of food and medical care. As soon as our forces are securely established, the work of rehabilitation will begin.

Lend-Lease Fact and Fiction

Recognizing that lend-lease has become a scapegoat for many people inconvenienced by shortages, the Foreign Economic Administration recently punctured a few of the more persistent rumors about the goods we send to our allies. Here are some of the facts reported by FEA.

It has been said that American lend-lease butter is sold at low prices in Canada. Actually, Canada receives no lend-lease goods of any kind. Last year only four per cent of our butter was lend-leased and all of it went to the Russians.

The beef shortage has been chalked up to lend-lease. But in 1944, less than one per cent of all our beef and veal went abroad in lend-lease shipments. Our troops in Australia and New Zealand were consuming almost the same amount of beef last year in reverse lend-lease.

Rumor has it that Britain is maintaining a high export trade in the lend-lease goods we send her. The fact is that while our export trade is only a little below prewar levels, Britain's has fallen off severely during the war.

The FEA also denies completely that Russia is exchanging American lend-lease planes for Japanese rubber. The story that Britain charges us high prices for food and transportation is countered by the fact that our troops in England are fed free under reverse lend-lease and that our goods are hauled under a similar arrangement. The British have turned over to us free of charge 133 air fields worth almost half a billion dollars.

Ickes Asks a Question

As part of his job as Secretary of Interior, Harold L. Ickes oversees the administration of American territories and possessions. In recent years, this work has been particularly hard, for in both Puerto Rico and Alaska, the war has been a period of popular discontent.

Now Ickes has thrust the whole tangle of problems into the lap of Congress by asking whether or not the United States intends to create an empire after the war. If we do not plan to become an imperial nation, he feels we should work out a more coherent policy for granting local autonomy to our territories and possessions.

Ickes is particularly concerned about the status of Puerto Rico. Although President Roosevelt promised the Puerto Ricans an elected governor instead of an appointed executive, nothing has been done to bring his plan to a final vote in Congress.

It is Ickes' opinion that a colonial policy must be worked out before the



"On to Tokyo"—MacArthur

relations with the AFL. If he and the United Mine Workers have rejoined the AFL by the time negotiations over the new contract begin, the UMW's bargaining position with the government may be still stronger.

Two New Governments

The people of Belgium and Holland are now waiting to see whether a change of government holds the answer to the problems which liberation has thrust upon them. The resignations of Belgium's Premier Pierlot and Holland's Premier Garbrandy have placed the complex affairs of the Low Countries in the hands of new cabinets.

In both nations, the reinstated exile governments met defeat on two issues—the treatment of collaborationists and representation for resistance groups. Dutch and Belgian resistance leaders accused the exile governments of failing to bring pro-Nazi citizens to justice. They also charged those in power with excluding resistance leaders from their councils in order to protect reactionary interests and prevent social reform.

In Holland, the dissatisfaction of

duced shortages, inflation, and general hardship. A Belgian financial expert is now in the United States negotiating for lend-lease aid to relieve the situation.

Recaptured Manila

General MacArthur's forces, streaming back into Manila, have found the Filipino capital a sad contrast to the gay and beautiful city they knew more than three years ago. War and the long Japanese occupation have changed the Pearl of the Orient to one more battle-scarred area.

When the United States took over the Philippines at the turn of the century, Manila was already known for its fine Spanish churches and picturesque native markets. Under American rule, it became equally famous for education, public health, and the highest standard of living in the Far East.

The harsh Japanese occupation has blotted out much of Manila's former beauty and comfort. The city has become filthy, starved, and battered. Public health and sanitation measures were abandoned under the enemy. The school system was upset. Food supplies and medicine were diverted

end of the war raises the question of military bases abroad. As V-Day draws nearer, proposals for American acquisition of bases are increasing. It has been suggested that we hold parts of the Marianas Islands, in addition to numerous others in all parts of the globe.

REA Appointment

In the shadow of the great conflict over the appointment of former Vice President Henry A. Wallace as Secretary of Commerce, a second presidential appointment is being challenged by the Senate. It is the appointment of Aubrey Williams, former director of the National Youth Administration, as head of the Rural Electrification Administration.

Williams' appointment has been challenged on much the same grounds as that of Henry Wallace. He has been charged with radicalism. Quoting some of his public statements of

Like Wallace, Aubrey Williams has announced that if appointed he will use his office to promote full employment and help break down monopoly. Denying that he is or has been a Communist, he has promised to do his work as head of REA without regard to political considerations.

France in the Middle East

General de Gaulle's efforts to make sure France will be a great power again after the war are currently running into obstacles in the Middle East. In de Gaulle's opinion, France cannot rank with the big nations unless she retains her old colonies and spheres of influence. But two of her World War I mandates, Syria and Lebanon, have raised serious objections.

When the Allies entered Syria in 1941, these two countries were promised an end to mandate rule. It was agreed that their postwar status would be defined by treaty. Later, when riots and uprisings threatened the peace of the Middle East, General Catroux made an agreement with Syria and Lebanon on behalf of France, providing that they should be sovereign nations, administering their own affairs and maintaining their own armies.

Now the Syrians and Lebanese are demanding the transfer of some 27,000 native troops from French authority to their own. France has refused unless Syria and Lebanon grant her a series of postwar rights and privileges comparable to those she enjoyed under the mandate system.

Syria and Lebanon, citing the recent agreement of Arab states to consult each other before making commitments to foreign powers, object to this arrangement.

Postwar Air Monopoly?

Should a single large monopoly airline handle all the postwar foreign air commerce of the United States, or should the field be open to the competition of any company which wants to enter it? This postwar problem is now being considered by Congress and has aroused a dispute among airline executives and the general public.

A committee in Congress which has been studying postwar international aviation seems to favor a single air-



PUSH FROM THE WEST. The Western Front moved into action last week in what appeared to be a mighty offensive coordinated with the Soviet drive from the east.

line. Such a monopoly would be owned jointly by the American airlines, railroads, and steamship companies which want to participate. Supporters of this plan say that it is the best way of meeting foreign competition, since the airlines of most other large countries pool their resources in international air commerce.

The smaller airlines in this country oppose this plan, however, for they feel that under competition they would have a chance to expand and secure increasingly larger amounts of business for themselves. In a monopoly their participation would be "frozen" and limited. It is also said that competition would produce cheaper and more satisfactory service, and that it would avoid the danger of government ownership or control of our overseas air commerce.

Monarchies in Europe

Ever since the French Revolution of 1789, the nations of the world have been moving away from the monarchical form of government, in which a king wields absolute power, toward republican forms in which the people's elected representatives rule. In some countries, the change has come without disturbing the outward forms of monarchy. By yielding power to parliaments and prime ministers, kings

have managed to keep at least their titles. But in many of the countries where monarchs were unwilling to see their powers dwindle, revolutions have swept away all traces of the monarchical system.

After World War I, for example, four great monarchies in which royal rulers exercised absolute power were ended. Germany's Kaiser, Austria-Hungary's Emperor, Russia's Czar, and Turkey's Sultan were deposed to make way for new forms of government. In countries like England, where kings had voluntarily surrendered their powers, monarchies were retained as figureheads.

After this war, it seems likely that several other monarchs who have tried to keep hold of the reins of government will be ousted. Wartime upheavals have brought the people's resentment of such rulers as King Peter of Yugoslavia, King George of Greece, and King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, into the open, and these men may not be allowed to return to their thrones. Rulers like George VI of England and Haakon VII of Norway, who have permitted their people to develop democratic governments under the monarchical system, are loved by their people and will probably continue as nominal heads of their countries.



FIVE-STAR GENERAL. General George C. Marshall, chief of staff of the United States Army, was reported last week at the Big Three conference, mapping plans with military leaders of Britain and Russia.

the depression period, disapproving senators have called him a Communist. He has been pronounced insufficiently experienced to handle the \$700,000,000 credit-distributing business of the REA. And it has been said that he would waste government money in trying to promote his own social theories.

SMILES

Sign at a Quartermaster Corps laundry: "We don't mangle your clothes with machinery—we do it carefully by hand."

Funny bus driver: "Step right back in the bus, folks. Dinner being served in the rear!"

Helpful passenger: "Yeah? What's on the menu?"

Voice from the rear: "Squash!"

Freshman: "Hey! You can't take that girl home. She's the reason I came to the dance."

Senior: "Sorry, son, you've just lost your reason!"

Wife (packing to go home to Mother): "When I married you I thought you were daring and courageous!"

Husband (bitterly): "That's nothing. All my friends thought the same thing!"

Skipper: "See that Jap on the bridge of the enemy's gunboat about five miles away?"

Gunner: "Aye, aye, sir."

Skipper: "Let him have a twelve pounder right in the eye."

Gunner: "Which eye, sir?"

Private: "I've got music in my soul. Have you ever noticed how I'm continually breaking into song?"

Sergeant: "Maybe you wouldn't have to break in if you'd get the key."

Teacher: "Let's hear you define a wrinkle."

Bright boy: "It's something that if a prune hasn't got some it's a plum."



"This is an original model, but you have to feed it."

Questions from the News

1. How does the attitude of the Soviet Union and Great Britain differ from that of the United States on the question of the political problems of the liberated countries?

2. What are some of France's most important postwar objectives? Why is de Gaulle angered at not having been invited to the conference of the Big Three?

3. What military agreement was reached by the Big Three conference?

4. What are likely to be Poland's territorial demands in the west?

5. What action was taken against the war criminals for the First World War?

6. What procedure has been mapped out for the trial of war criminals of this war?

7. In dealing with the war criminals what distinction is made between such leaders as Hitler and other Nazi leaders and Germans accused of specific crimes?

8. What demands are the coal miners making? Why is John L. Lewis' position stronger than it was in 1943?

9. To what position has Aubrey Williams been nominated and why is there opposition to him in the Senate?

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Pronunciations

Catroux—kah-troo'
Chernyakhovsky—chair-nyah-koff'skee
Danzig—dah'n'tseek
Goebbels—guh'bels
Goering—guh'ring
Königsberg—kuh-necks-bairg
Rokossovsky—roe-koe-soff'skee

Punishing the War Criminals

AS the Allies close in on Germany from all sides, the question of dealing with the war criminals becomes more important. That will be one of the first tasks confronting the United Nations when hostilities cease, for they are agreed that the war criminals shall be punished. There are still disagreements as to the methods to be used in bringing the criminals to justice, but the United States, Britain, and Russia are formally pledged to a policy of punishing the German war criminals.

This issue was brought forcefully



Hermann Goering (right) and Joseph Goebbels are among the top-ranking Nazis to be brought to justice after the war.

to the attention of the Allied world early this month when Lord Vansittart declared in the House of Lords that "the flight of the guilty is already beginning," charging that "certain sinister Germans" have been leaving Germany with false passports to seek refuge in neutral countries. He urged the Allied governments to act immediately against such persons by demanding the surrender of all war criminals who had succeeded in fleeing to neutral countries.

Since the early days of the war, the Allies have been attempting to prevent such a development as that to which Lord Vansittart referred in his recent address. Considerable pressure has been brought to bear upon all the neutrals in order to prevent Nazi leaders and other war criminals from fleeing Germany and escaping punishment. Switzerland, Sweden, Turkey, Argentina, Spain, Portugal have been regarded as possible havens for those guilty of crimes against civilization. Most of the neutrals have agreed to close their doors to the war criminals, but Lord Vansittart and others now fear that the criminals may escape punishment by traveling under false passports or by using other forms of deception.

Who are the war criminals and for what crimes are they to be punished? What type of punishment is planned for them? How are they to be brought to trial? Will all members of the Nazi Party be considered criminals and subject to punishment? Will all members of the German armed forces be so regarded?

These and dozens of other questions will have to be answered as soon as the Germans surrender. Some of them were answered by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin in a statement signed late in 1943. At that time the three leaders went clearly on

record in favor of punishing the war criminals and outlined certain procedures to be followed.

The three leaders declared that the United Nations would regard as war criminals "those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in atrocities, massacres, and executions" in the countries where they were in control. This would include, for example, those Germans who were responsible for the crime of Lidice in Czechoslovakia, where an entire town was exterminated, for similar acts of barbarism throughout Europe. It would include those who have inflicted cruelties upon civilian populations in dozens of countries, who have participated in cold-blooded murder; those who have violated all the rules of war regarding the treatment of war prisoners.

Recent statements of our State Department go even further than this declaration of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. Those Germans who have committed crimes against Germans will also be brought to justice, the State Department explains. These would include the Nazis who have inflicted all types of punishment upon the Jews of Germany and other minority groups. In the dozen years that the Nazis have been in power, thousands upon thousands of Germans have been killed, beaten, placed in concentration camps, and otherwise punished because of their opposition to Hitler and his policies. Those responsible for these crimes will also be considered war criminals by the Allied nations.

The formula which is to be used in trying and punishing the war criminals who have committed atrocities, massacres, and other crimes on soil outside of Germany has been agreed upon by the Allied powers. It will consist of sending the Germans back to the scene of their crimes for trial. In the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin statement referred to above, it was stated that the criminals would be "sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free government which will be erected therein."

Thus, it is assumed, those responsible for the crime of Lidice will be returned to Czechoslovakia where they will be brought to trial for their mass slaughter; those who have partici-

pated in the wholesale murder of Poles will be returned to Poland for trial; those whose crimes were committed in France will be turned over to the government of France for trial and punishment. "Let those who have hitherto not imbued their hands with innocent blood beware lest they join the ranks of the guilty," the Allied leaders warned, "for most assuredly the three Allied powers will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and will deliver them to their accusers in order that justice may be done."

A considerable amount of preliminary work has already been done for the punishment of war criminals. Long lists of those who have committed atrocities and outrages from one end of Europe to the other have been compiled. A United Nations War Crimes Commission has been set up to prepare the lists and make recommendations for punishment. In liberated areas, war criminals have been rounded up by the Allied armies in preparation for the coming trials.

In defining their policies toward war criminals the Allied leaders made a distinction between those who are



Philippe Petain and Pierre Laval, as leading figures of the Vichy government, are considered war criminals for their collaboration with the Nazis during the occupation of France.

accused with specific crimes and those who might be classed as "arch-criminals." The latter group would include the prominent figures, such as Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, von Ribbentrop, and the ring-leaders of the Nazi Party, as well as Mussolini and other leading Fascists in Italy, whose crimes have been committed not against any one country or group of people but against civilization.

These "arch-criminals" are to be treated differently from the Nazi official who was responsible for a crime in a certain locality. It is understood that they will not be sent to any one country for trial, but will be punished according to a joint decision by the government of the Allies.

There is a sharp disagreement as to the method which should be used in dealing with this latter group. Some people argue that they should be tried before an International War Crimes Court, set up for the purpose of dealing with the criminals of this type. Others lean to the view that the punishment should be determined by the Allied governments themselves as a matter of political policy. This position is clearly set forth by Walter Lippmann in one of his recent columns:

It would be possible, no doubt, to indict Hitler, Himmler, et al. for specific crimes, and to adduce the evidence to convict them. But will it satisfy justice to convict them of specific crimes of murder



Arch-criminals are Hitler and Mussolini for their countless crimes against civilization.

and robbery when in fact they are guilty of the infinitely greater offense, which comprehends all the specific offenses, of attempting to conquer and enslave the civilized world? It will not. Our object is not vengeance but justice, and to do justice, these men must be judged for their real offenses against mankind, not merely for some specific offense which happens to come within the rules of evidence in a criminal court. For this would be like imprisoning a gangster not for all his murders and rackets but because he defrauded the government on his income tax return.

Mr. Lippmann points out that such a procedure was used in dealing with Napoleon. That would-be conqueror of the world was not brought to trial before any national or international court, but by joint decision of the governments of the countries which had defeated him. They signed a convention declaring Napoleon to be their common prisoner and agreeing to punish him without trial.

After the last war, the Allied attempt to punish the war criminals was a dismal failure. At that time, the Allies demanded that the defeated Germans hand over some 900 persons whom they classified as criminals. The new German government persuaded the Allies to allow their own supreme court to try the offenders. When the trials were finally conducted, only 12 of the original 900 were brought before the court, and of the 12 only four were found guilty. Light prison sentences were given the four. These trials were held in Leipzig and have since been referred to throughout the world as the "Leipzig comedy." The Kaiser himself was allowed to live out his years in Holland after he fled Germany with the modest sum of \$100,000,000.

The Allies are determined to prevent the repetition of any such farce at the conclusion of the present war. That is why they have been making plans long in advance for the punishment of all who have been guilty of crimes which will forever rank as among the most heinous in history.

In addition to trying the German war criminals, the governments of the liberated countries will be confronted with the problem of bringing to trial their own citizens who collaborated with the enemy and thus betrayed their homeland. In France, such trials have been under way for a number of months. As yet, the heads of the Vichy government, men like Petain and Laval, have not been apprehended and tried, but they, and other high-ranking officials, are expected to be tried. In the other occupied countries, the quislings and puppets who ruled in the name of the Nazis will face judgment as soon as the war is over.



Heinrich Himmler, Gestapo head, is responsible for mass murder in practically every country of Europe.

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